2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray parinel band.

or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water.

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design.

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers.

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Mato Grosso SP1

Eastern Bororo

B 101 184 361

On the São Lorenço river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

B 114 361

The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenço), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

B 361 184 423

Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

B 114

Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

At the Headwaters of the Xingu River

M 114

My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramior Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kuluseu and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaisance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/131 cont./

562 831 the following morning, Maria, rich in experience, in whose resistance there could not have been very serious intentions. Did you not want to get married yesterday? I asked. -- Now I am already married, she answered calmly. She was lying down in all /132/ comfort under a red blanket beside her favorite man, and both were cracking nuts from a palm tree. One day we say Moguyokuri encouraging the young men to decorate Maria, who appeared so brave in the struggle and was so submissive now. Immediately six young men threw themselves upon her, painting her."

The fact, however, that the girl taken to the men's house did not figure there in any manner as a slave without a will of her own is evident and thanks to the following observation by Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 489): "While the women, ordinarily, remained away from the men's house, there was rarely missing there a couple of lovers who frolicked lying under a common red blanket. Nobody was concerned about it, except a few friends tormented by a little jealousy, who actually had been refused by the common sweetheart and had to be satisfied with sitting beside the couple, talking to them."

562 831 ● 184 Such customs in the men's house do not seem to have existed among the Bororo with whom the Salesian missionaries spent their life. At least Colbacchini never mentions anything similar. I did not see any women in the men's house in Tori-paru either.

000 It has been affirmed that the custom according to which one sex is much older than the other one in marriage indicates a predominance of the first (Vaerting, o.c., p. 22 and seq.), quoting examples from Egypt, America, and India. From South American Indians, for example, from the hunting and gathering people of the Chamacoco in the Chaco /133/ (Baldus: Indianerstudien /Indian Studies/, Leipzig, 1931, p. 58),

/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, [562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the [534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular [761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 774 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/160 cont./

of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the same way, and both men and women.

Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American Indian tribes/" Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently, there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter; Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases, among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning this, we must first consider that many myths make great migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility, incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

/480 cont./

575 583 [345] The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the [622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing [582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old, [561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with [264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they, [554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

● 184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac- 105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially 171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived 433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple 511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the 571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
191 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
261 out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
●184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié, are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today number about 65, are related linguistically to the Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados owing to their headdress.

In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house (*ishipé*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair. Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imatá*) made from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[P. 106 (B)]